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Aspects of Tucano Culture
Mythology -- Part I
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By Marcos Fulop

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Preliminary Note

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

The mythology that appears in this article is a very small portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

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I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

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Boraró and Boraró Numió sometimes have human form and at other times have spirit form. Very often they are seen eating crabs, for they like to eat crabs very much.

*539 774 787 Boraró and Boraró Numió also steal people's souls without eating them. Sometimes a man dreams about a very pretty woman, and afterwards, when he goes out to the forest, he meets her and has sex with her. When he returns to the maloca (1),

1. Name given in this region to the typical Tukano /Tucano/ house.

he lies down to sleep and there he dies. Boraró Numió is the pretty woman about whom he dreamed and with whom he had sex, and it is she who steals his soul. The Tukano /Tucano/ woman dreams about Boraró, has sex with him in the forest, and then it is Boraró who steals her soul.

*539 II. Pijsubariyái.

Four spirits stayed in Dejkepaiwí. And each one of these spirits is named Pijsubariyái. These spirits, who are /340/ like devils, shout the name of a person. And the person, since he does not know who is calling, answers. But Pijsubariyái, unless he is given indications with a finger, does not know where the person is. Therefore, when one answers the first time that he is called and he still continues to be called, he knows it must be Pijsubariyái. In case that someone points him out to Pijsubariyái, instantly Pijsubariyái reaches him and eats him in the same way that a jaguar /Sp. tigre/ eats people. Pijsubariyái has two heads, one where the head is normally and the other on the backside, instead of a tail. Pijsubariyái has the form of a jaguar.

III. Emiarouajtí.

Two spirits named Emiarouajtí stayed in Diakajseropoeawí. They both had the same name and were a male and a female. They were brother and sister. No Uajtí (2) dies, and so the

2. Spirit.

*539 /340 cont./
Emiarouajtſ do not die either. Both Emiarouajtſ are the owners of the trees of the forest. Yepá Huáke (3) left them to them, and

3. Creator god of the Tukano /Tucano/.

the Emiarouajtſ are the ones who command all the Uajtſ. The Emiarouajtſ walk on top of the trees and take care of the fruits of the trees when the fruits ripen. The Emiarouajtſ do not let the people eat these fruits. When the people pick the fruits of the trees in order to eat them, the Emiarouajtſ punish the people, catching them by the throat, breaking the neck, and killing them. The Emiarouajtſ are not in all the forest, but walk only in the vicinity of Diakajseropoeawſ (4).

4. According to the informant, a maloca located beside a stream of the Negro River.

IV. Uearſ Majsá and Yujkedejká Bejké.

Four spirits named Uearſ Majsá, two males and two females, stayed in Yujkedejkawſ. Yepá Huáke also left there another spirit called Yujkedejká Bejké. Every August the Uearſ Majsá leave Yujkedejkawſ and go everywhere stealing people. The Uearſ Majsá steal people by appearing to them in the form of a relative. They invite them to take a walk, and then /341/ they take them to Yujkedejkawſ. But the Uearſ Majsá do not kill people. This is why August is a dangerous month.

Yujkedejká Bejké also comes out in August, which is the month in which the trees start to give fruit. And Yukedejká Bejke /sic/ leaves Yujkedejkawſ and visits the forest in all directions: north, south, east, and west. And he counts how many fruits the trees are going to have this year, and afterwards Yujkedejká Bejké returns again to Yujkedejkawſ.

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V. Miriápura Majsá.

Yepá Huáke left six persons, three women and three men, in Diawí. And they are called Mariápura Majsá. They are in charge of the spirits of Miriá (5).

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5. Of the Yuruparises. Ceremonial flutes used in the initiation ceremonies for the pubescent boys. It is forbidden for women to see these flutes.

VI. Ñebariuajtí.

In Ñamiriwí, Yepá Huáke left a male and a female who are named Ñebariauajtí. And these two beings have the same human form as Boraró and Boraró Numió. And they kill and steal people's souls in the same way as Boraró and Boraró Numió do.

VII. Sexual Relations (6).

6. Name that the interpreter insisted on giving to the myth.

Yepá Huáke left in Diawí two brothers with their papa and mama. And the four were called Bajsébo Majsá. And they left Diawí and went to Bajsebowí. Before Yúpuri Baúro (7)

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7. Yúpuri Baúro is the most important mythological culture hero in Tukano /Tucano/ culture. He is also the founder of the sib /Sp. sib/ of the highest category among the Tukano.

discovered these lands, the Tukano /Tucano/ did not have children. In Bajsebowí, when the father of the Bajsébo Majsá, who

* 539 /341 cont./
was named Miriápura Turíkaro, saw that his two sons knew how to "blow" (8) and all the history of the Tukano, then he got

8. To cure sicknesses by medico-religious methods.

them two wives, a woman for each one. And these two women were not for the sons of Mariápura Turíkaro to have sexual relations with, but to be as friends.

/342/ The four Bajsébo Majsá were spirits, and the two wives of the sons of Miriápura Turíkaro were Umékori Majsá. The Desano /Desana/ were Umékori Majsá (9). And in those

9. People of the Day.

times the Bajsébo Majsá did not have the right to marry the Umékori Majsá, but Miriápura Turíkaro came and took the two Umékori Majsá girls. With this, the Ñamíri Majsá (10) were

10. People of the Night; Cubeo.

angry at the Bajsébo Majsá. Then Ñámíri Majsé went up to the sky and saw that the two Bajsébo Majsá brothers and the two Umékori Majsá sisters were examining some stones that were called Bajséboperi. And these stones were the food stones, because formerly they did not have to hunt or fish or grate manioc, but rather the stones were put under the hearth and the pot became full of food. When Ñamíri Majsé saw this, he smoked tobacco, looked toward where the sun rises, and opened the door of a maloca that is up there. The door of this maloca is called Ujpekóspe, which means Door of Milk. Then Ñamíri Majsé turned toward where the sun sets, and there he ate coca, smoked tobacco, and opened the door of another maloca that is also in the sky. And the door is called Ñamírispe, which means Door of the Night.

* 539 /342 cont./

The maloca where Ñamíri Majsé was is called Ñamiriwí. As soon as Ñamíri Majsé opened the two doors of the malocas, a strong wind came. And where the four Bajsébo Majsá and the two Umékori Majsá girls were there was a pachuba bush. The pachuba bush had a bunch of fruit that had not yet burst open. And the strong wind that came opened the bunch of fruit and [841] caused it to make a sound. And the noise of the bunch of fruit that was opening came down with the wind and grazed the two Umékori Majsá girls from the abdomen to the vaginal opening, and then the two girls had their first menstruation. Before this no girl had had menstruation.

When Ñamíri Majsé saw that the two girls had had their first menstruation, he came down to make love to the two sisters. Then the four Bajsébo Majsá turned into spirits and disappeared, because they knew that Ñamíri Majsé had come down from the sky. And they disappeared in order to see what Ñamíri Majsé did to the two Umékori Majsá sisters. Then, /343/ when Ñamíri Majsé came down, he spread over the ground some fine little switches, which are called Imisa in Tukano /Tucano/, in order to lie down with both Umékori Majsá sisters and have sexual relations with them. Meanwhile the four Bajsébo Majsá were watching. Before this no one had had sexual relations or knew how to do it. And when Ñamíri Majsé finished having sexual relations with both sisters, the four Bajsebó /sic/ Majsá appeared again. And Ñamíri Majsá /sic/ had gone. And then the four Bajsébo Majsá asked the two sisters what they had done. Then they answered: "Ñamíri Majsé only came to see what we were doing." Then the Bajsébo Majsá said: "Well, why is it that the stools where we sat down and the coca that we ate and the ground are bloody? We should not have sexual relations. Yepá Huáke did did not permit us to have sexual relations." With this, Yepá Huáke appeared. The four Bajsébo Majsá were about to abandon the two Umékori Majsá girls. Then Yepá Huáke said to the four Bajsébo Majsá: "What has happened? I ordered you to take the two Umékori Majsá girls, to examine the food stones (Bajséboperi)

* 539 /343 cont./
and distribute them all over the world and among all the people, and then that the two Bajsébo Majsá brothers marry the two Umékori Majsá sisters. Ñamíri Majsé came and spoiled everything."

Yepá Huáke had come with two other gods named Dejsú Bário Huáke and Mujuí Bejké. Then Yepá Huáke said to Dejsú Bário Huáke and Mujuí Bejké: "Stay in this land because they have seen how to have sexual relations. Take care of all the creation that I made for the people. Get rid of the two Umékori Majsá girls and get two Uaí Majsá (11) girls to marry the two

11. The Yurutí tribe.

Bajsébo Majsá brothers, and do not tell them how to have sexual relations, because they will know. If you tell them, that is bad. And no one should tell a man how to have sexual relations until he is 22 years old. And after a month of marriage the face of the woman will become thin, and that will mean that the woman is pregnant. And the mother of the two Bajsébo Majsá brothers must take good care of the pregnant woman. If the face /344/ of the pregnant woman does not change within a month, then get rid of her, because that means that she is not going to have more children."

Then Yepá Huáke spoke to Yúpuri Baúro: "I am leaving two Uamára (12) here, but you must never pay any attention to them."

12. Spirits.

And with Yúpuri Baúro was Yepá Bejkó. And Yepá Bejkó said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Marry a woman and have children, that is why I arranged to have women exist. And I did this in Diawí (13).

13. See: Fulop, Marcos, "Aspectos de la Cultura Tukana: Cosmogonía /Aspects of Tukano Culture: Cosmogony/," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, pp. 125-127. Bogotá, 1954.

* 539 /344 cont./
You will have a woman and your brother also will have another woman. Do not fall in love with your brother's woman, nor is your brother to fall in love with your woman. And besides your own woman, you may have other women. And the first woman will become pregnant, she will bear the little son, and when the little son is two years old, you will give him to one of your other women in order for her to rear him and in order that the little one will not see how you have sexual relations. And that is for the little daughters too." Miriápura Turíkaro and the two Bajsébo Majsá brothers wanted to be as powerful as Yúpuri Baúro. Then Miriápura Turíkaro spoke to Yepá Huáke and said: "I too am going to get two women for my sons, so that my sons will have wives." Then Yepá Huáke answered that he had already given all the women to Yúpuri Baúro, and that Yúpuri Baúro would distribute all the women among all the people (14), and Yúpuri

14. Among all the tribes.

Baúro would determine whom they could marry and how many women each man could have. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said that he did not like to have to depend on Yúpuri Baúro in order to get his women, but that he wanted to have the privilege of distributing the women among all the people. Miriápura Turíkaro is like the Yúpuri Baúro of the Desanos /Desana/ (15). Then

15. This means that Miriápura Turíkaro is the most important culture hero of the Desano /Desana/.

Yepá Huáke answered that this was impossible because there could not be two in command at the same time and that Yepá Huáke had already designated Yúpuri Baúro to be in command of all the people. Then Miriápura Turíkaro rebelled against Yepá Huáke and said that he could be in command over all the people and that he could also assign and distribute all the women /345/ among all the people. And Miriápura Turíkaro said all this because he was

*539 /345 cont./
envious of Yúpuri Baúro. And from there envy was born, and envy exists up to now. Then Yepá Huáke said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "Well, if you can do all this, then do it. When are you going to do all this?" Then Miriápura Turíkaro said: "I will do it tomorrow." Then Yepá Huáke let Miriápura Turíkaro do as he wished. But Miriápura Turíkaro did not wait until the next day, but he began to get the two women for his two sons that same day. Because of this, Miriápura Turíkaro was left as a liar in the eyes of Yepá Huáke.

Miriápura Turíkaro had already returned to Bajsebowí, because Bajsebowí is the Diaojpekowí of the Desano /Desana/ (16).

16. The mythological maloca from which all the Desano /Desana/ tribe came.

In Bajsebowí, Miriápura Turíkaro gave a woman to his older son and a woman to his younger son. Then Miriápura Turíkaro distributed the rooms in which the two brothers could live with their respective women. He ordered his older son to live with his woman in a room in the center of the maloca, and he ordered the younger one to live with his woman in a room more toward the front of the maloca of Bajsebowí. And Miriápura Turíkaro assigned himself the rear part of the maloca of Bajsebowí.

Meanwhile Yúpuri Baúro was ready to leave Diaojpekowí. And before Yúpuri Baúro left Diaojpekowí, Yepá Hauke /sic/, who was also in Diaojpekowí, began to look and search from Diaojpekowí to see where Miriápura Turíkaro was. Yepá Huáke saw that Miriápura Turíkaro was in Bajsebowí, and he called to him: "Miriápura Turíkaro, come here." Then Miriápura Turíkaro, very ashamed, with his hands behind him and his head hanging, came to Diaojpekowí and said: "Yepá Huáke, what do you want?" Then Yepá Huáke answered him: "Is today the day on which you are going to get women for your two sons?" One day had already passed. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said: "I got them women yesterday, the same day that we spoke."

*539 /345 cont./
Then Yepá Huáke said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "Ah, you want to be as I am; you want to be god. You want to take away from me my words and my tongue. Within two days something bad will happen to you and to your two sons and to the women of /346/ your sons. I do not need you for the moment, go to your Bajsebowí and prepare food, coca, tobacco, and chicha for Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá (17)." Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned

17. Pamúri Majsá was all the people who came from Diaojpekowí, led by Yúpuri Baúro.

returned to Bajsebowí and began to prepare the food, the coca, the tobacco, and the chicha for Yúpuri Baúro and for Pamúri Majsá.

Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá had already arrived in Diatabujtiwí. The day on which Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá arrived in Diatabujtiwí, Miriápura Turíkaro began to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. In one day Yúpuri Baúro and Pámúri Majsá traveled from Diatabujtiwí to Diayebarawí. They stayed to sleep there. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he had to know in order to receive important visitors. On the second day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diayebaravi /sic/ to Diabarowí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he had to know in order to receive important visitors. On the third day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diabarowí to Diayejkejoriwí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. On the fourth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diayejkejoriwí to Diakarerawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. On the fifth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri

* 539 /346 cont./
Majsá traveled from Diakarerawí to Diauajatorawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. On the sixth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diauajatorawí to Diasarirawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. On the seventh day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diasarirawí to Diayairawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive /347/ important visitors. On the eighth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diayairawí to Diasurarawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. And all went well. On the ninth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diasurarawí to Diakumarawí, and they stayed there to sleep. And on that ninth day Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he had to know in order to receive important visitors. And all went well. On the tenth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diakumurawí /sic/ to Diamajamirawí, and they stayed there to sleep. On this tenth day, finally, the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro spoiled the apprenticeship. He only lacked two days in order to graduate, but on that tenth day everything was spoiled, and it happened in the following way:

On the tenth day, in the morning, Miriápura Turíkaro said to his older son: "Within two days Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá will arrive at Bajsebowí. You lack two days in order to graduate from the apprenticeship on how to receive important people. Remain seated here, thinking about all that I have taught you. Do not go to do anything else. Your younger brother is going to go fishing, and I am going to look for coca." Then Miriápura Turíkaro went to look for coca, and his younger son went fishing. The older son of Miriápura Turíkaro remained

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seated, thinking, and he was suspicious, because he suspected that his younger brother was going to make love to his woman. The woman of the older brother had gone to the garden, and the woman of the younger brother had remained seated inside the maloca of Bajsebowí.

Then the older brother said to the woman of the younger brother: "I too am going fishing." The woman of the younger brother did not say anything, but she suspected that the older brother was going to do some harm to the younger brother, because she had realized that the younger brother had been making love to the woman of the older brother. The older brother took an oar, a fishing rod, and went down to the port /Sp. puerto; this word is sometimes used to refer to a dam in a river/. He climbed into a canoe and went down the river to the first turn of the river. This first turn of the river was called Bajsébobeto. The older brother landed there and returned by land to the maloca of Bajsebowí. He did not enter Bajsebowí, but stayed outside, hidden under a banana tree, in order to see what the younger brother did /348/ when he returned to Bajsebowí. Then the older brother took a step and stopped three paces from the place where his woman always threw away the manioc peelings. He had just taken these steps when the younger brother arrived at Bajsebowí. Not much time had passed since the woman of the older brother had arrived at the maloca of Bajsebowí with the manioc and had been peeling it. The younger brother asked his own woman where the older brother was, and she answered him: "Your brother went fishing." Then the woman of the older brother stood up with the manioc peelings, in order to throw them where she always threw them, and the younger brother followed her. The woman of the older brother remained standing where she customarily threw away the manioc peelings, awaiting the younger brother. The younger brother came and tumbled her to the ground and was going to have sexual relations with her, when the older brother jumped, caught the younger brother by the shoulders, knocked him to the ground, and with a knife that in Tukano /Tucano/ is called Séopi he cut off the penis of the younger brother. The woman of the older brother had managed to escape

*539 /348 cont./
and had run to Bajsebowí. The younger brother died, and the older brother was frightened because he had killed his brother. Then the older brother entered Bajsebowí without making any noise and went to his room. There he took a little switch of Imisa, and he pushed it through the woven straw of the wall of the maloca until it fell outside. Later he went out of Bajsebowí and walked around the maloca and picked up the switch of Imisa and began to make a coffin with this switch. He did not bury his younger brother in this coffin, however, but rather he skirted the maloca of Bajsebowí and went to the port. From there he began to walk along the bank of the river upstream, and after traveling for a while he made a sort of table with poles of Omuamujpúri. He put the coffin on top of this table and he covered it with some leaves. Then he returned to Bajsebowí. There in Bajsebowí he sat down for a while. A short time later Miriápura Turíkaro arrived and asked him: Has your younger brother not arrived yet?" Then he answered: "He has not come yet." Then Miriápura Turíkaro asked the woman of his younger son: "Has my son not arrived yet?" Then she answered: "He has not come yet." Then Miriápura Turíkaro, impressed because his son was so late, began to toast coca. Afterwards he pounded the coca, mixed it with ashes, sifted it, and he began to chew coca. He lighted tobacco and smoked. He divined, and in the /349/ divination it came out that his younger son had died. Then Miriápura Turíkaro took coca, tobacco, and a pouch, and he said to his older son: "Things have turned out very badly for me." Then Miriápura Turíkaro left Bajsebowí for Diaojpekowí to look for the spirit of his younger son. But he did not find the spirit of his younger son. He left Diaojpekowí and went to Ñamiriwí and did not find the spirit of his younger son there either. He left Ñamiriwí and went to Pajsasarowí and did not find the spirit of his younger son there either. He left Pajsasarowí and went to Diakajseropoeawí and did not find the spirit of his younger son there either.

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Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned to Bejsebowí /sic/. He left Bajsebowí again and went toward Moawí. Moawí is two days from Mitú, going down the Vaupés River. In Moawí they were on the eve of holding a Dabukurí (18) of Moá (19).

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18. A ceremonial fiesta during which presents are exchanged.

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19. Salt obtained by boiling the carurú plant.

There was much joy in Moawí. Miriápura Turíkaro entered Moawí and remained there listening a while to what the Moá Majsá people were saying. In this maloca there were some single and married women sweeping the maloca of Moawí and they were speaking of the death of the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. And one woman said: "The younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro made love to the woman of the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The older son, in revenge, cut off his penis and killed him." Then another woman said: "How bad the Bajsébo Majsá must be if there is killing between brothers! What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then another woman said: "Do you know if the older brother buried his younger brother?" Then another woman answered: "He has not buried him. He only made a coffin of Imisa switches and above the port he made a little table, put the coffin on top of this table, and covered it with some leaves." And another woman said: "What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then Miriápura Turíkaro became frightened and returned immediately to Bajsebowí. He entered through one door of the maloca and left through the other and went directly to the port. From the port he took the trail to where the little table was and found the coffin on top of the little table. He lowered the coffin and opened it. Inside the coffin was the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The younger son was really dead, but for Miriápura Turíkaro his /350/ younger son was only unconscious. Then Miriápura Turíkaro thought that he could revive him. Then Miriápura Turíkaro blew tobacco smoke over his younger son, and the younger son returned to life. Then

* 539 /350 cont./

Miriápura Turíkaro asked his younger son: "What did you do?" Then the younger son answered: "Nothing." Then Miriápura Turíkaro asked him: "Why did you molest your brother's woman?" Then the younger son said: "I did nothing." Then Miriápura Turíkaro said: "I told you, you and your older brother, before giving you the two women, that your older brother was as your papa and that the woman of your older brother was as your mama. I gave you a woman, and your woman too has a genital organ just the same as the woman of your brother. What do you want then? You do not respect me. You are good for nothing. I am going to see if I can make you have life as before, so that all the world will see how I live." Then Miriápura Turíkaro took out some ground and "blown" (20) tobacco powder and sprinkled

20. Prayed over.

this powder on the body of his younger son. Afterwards he smoked tobacco and blew the smoke of the tobacco over the body of his younger son. Then Miriápura Turíkaro sat down and began to divine what he was going to do to revive his younger son. He thought about the maloca of Diaojpekospé, which is in the south; then he thought about another maloca called Ñamirispé, which is in the north; then he thought about another maloca called Pajsasorawí /sic/, which is in the west; and finally he thought about another maloca called Kajseropoeawí, which is in the east. After thinking about all these malocas, he spit on the place where his younger son's penis had been cut off, and the penis appeared again. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his younger son: "Stand up!" And the younger son stood up. Then Miriápura Turíkaro put on his son a Ñajkéroporo, which is like a very fine band, which Yepá Huáke had given to Miriápura Turíkaro and which Miriápura Turíkaro put on the forehead of his younger son. Then Miriápura Turíkaro put a Sioyajpú on the right shoulder of his younger son. The Sioyajpú is like a painted stick. Afterwards Miriápura Turíkaro put under the right arm of his younger son a Bajtípakaro, which is like a shield to protect against

* 539 /350 cont./
arrows. Then Miriápura Turíkaro put on the right elbow of his son a Bajsákaro, which is like a ribbon /351/ of many colors and has feathers. This Bajsákaro is woven out of cumare fibers. Then Miriápura Turíkaro hung around his son's neck a very fine stone called Ujtá-Bojuá. After this he hung around his neck another necklace called Dajsiá-Túbeto, and this necklace had been given to Miriápura Turíkaro by Yepá Huáke. Then he put around his neck another necklace that is called Dasú-Kébeto, and this necklace also had been given to Miriápura Turíkaro by Yepá Huáke. Then he put around his waist a ring of jaguar teeth and which in Tukano /Tucano/ is called Yáipiribeto. Then he put Bára on him, which is a sprig /Sp. rama/ that is placed over the buttocks and adjusted with the Yáipiribeto. Then he put on him a skirt called Uajsóro, which served in place of a loincloth. Then he put on both his knees some small bands woven out of cumare and which are called Yujtáseri (21). Then he put on his right ankle some

21. One alone is called Yujtásero.

little bells and these are called Kejtióto. Then he gave him an Utíkaserero, which is a fork that is used when one is going to speak, and a big cigar /Sp. tabaco/ is placed in the middle of this fork. Then he gave him Yáig, which is a stick that has a little bell. Then Miriápura Turíkaro took for himself Nopírutike, which is a stick similar to the Yáig, but it does not have a bell. Miriápura Turíkaro began to do all this early in the morning and had finished it all about three o'clock in the afternoon. Then Miriápura Turíkaro smoked tobacco, inhaled ground tobacco, and he blew on himself with tobacco smoke. Then he had his younger son smoke tobacco, inhale ground tobacco, and blow on himself with tobacco smoke. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his younger son: "Walk to the maloca of Bajsebowí again." Then the younger son answered: "No, papa, it would be better if I enter Bajsebowí at night without making

* 539 /351 cont./
any noise and go to my room. There I am going to sleep and on the next day show my body as it has become now." Then Miriápura Turíkaro, who was very vain, said: "No, you are coming with me now, in the daytime." The younger son knew what was going to happen, and he again refused to enter Bajsebowí by day, but Miriápura Turíkaro forced him to go with him to Bajsebowí. Then the younger son said: "All right, I am going with you."

In the meanwhile in the maloca of Bajsebowí the older brother already knew that his younger brother had been revived and that he was coming /352/ with Miriápura Turíkaro to the maloca of Bajsebowí. Then the older brother made a little bird appear, one that likes to live in the roofs of malocas, and they are a bad omen, for when they strike with their beaks on the top beam of the maloca, then someone in that maloca is going to die. In Tukano /Tucano/ this little bird is called Ñamákasero, and when it sings it says: "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú," which in Spanish means: "de allí salió un diablo /a devil came out of there/." After the older brother made the Ñamákasero appear, he sent one Ñamákasero to go up to the roof of the maloca to keep vigil, he sent another Ñamákasero to the front door of the maloca, and he sent another Ñamákasero to the back door of the maloca. Meanwhile the younger son and Miriápura Turíkaro were going toward the maloca of Bajsebowí. The younger son walked in front and Miriápura Turíkaro walked behind his son. When the Ñamákasero at the front door of the maloca of Bajsebowí saw them coming, it began to sing "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú" several times. Then the female Ñamákasero, which was on the back door of the maloca, answered, "Níto uajtí, níto uajtí, níto aujtí /sic/," which means in Spanish: "Dónde está el diablo /where is the devil/? Dónde está el diablo? Dónde está el diablo?" As soon as the two Ñamákasero said this, the younger son was very much ashamed, and he said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "I will not enter the maloca of Bajsebowí because they are calling me Uajtí" (22). Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to

[825 M63]

22. Spirit; devil.

* 539 /352 cont./

him: "You have to enter the maloca of Bajsebowí." But as they had called him Uajtí, the younger son began to tremble as if he were about to die again. While they were speaking, they were standing. Then they began to walk again, and there was only a short way to go before arriving at the maloca when both Ñamákasero, male and female, began to sing: "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú." And as soon as both little birds began to sing like this, the younger son began to tremble very hard and he fell dead. Then Miriápura Turíkaro threw himself to the ground to mourn. Then all the relatives of Miriápura Turíkaro came to mourn together over the dead younger son. Only the older brother did not come to mourn, but rather, as soon as he saw that his younger brother had died, he ran to hide in the forest, because the older brother was frightened. Miriápura Turíkaro and his relatives mourned the death of the younger brother for one day, /353/ but to the older brother it seemed as though that day was a year. The older brother hid the food stones (Bajséboperi), and it rained all the time, and the sky was dark, dark, as on a moonless night. Meanwhile Yúpurí Baúro was as though imprisoned in the maloca of Diamajamirawí. Then, when Miriápura Turíkaro and all his relatives stopped mourning the younger son who had died, Miriápura Turíkaro called the older son, shouting: "Bajsébo, come." Then the older son answered, "All right," and came to where Miriápura Turíkaro was, and he sat down in front of his papa. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his older son: "You betrayed your younger brother and killed him. And that is as though you had killed me. We shall not talk any more. Go away. Stay with the two women, your own and the widow of your younger brother." Then the older brother stood up, entered Bajsebowí, went to his room, took a pouch, and went with the two women to the garden.

When the older son stood up and entered Bajsebowí, Miriápura Turíkaro took a pouch, a stool, a gourd where coca was stored, the earthen jar in which were kept the food stones, which Miriápura Turíkaro had dug up from where the older son had buried and hidden them, gave all his relatives to Yepá Huáke,

*539 /353 cont./
and went to the maloca of Uarirowí. He entered the maloca of Uarirowí, and he asked Uariró, "Né Mejké" (23), even

23. "Hello, brother of my mother."

though he was not really his Mejké. But since Uariró did not know either, he answered, "Eé Tiiké" (24), because, since

24. "How is everything, son-in-law."

Uariró had two daughters, Uariró thought that Miriápura Turíkaro came to marry his two daughters. Then Uariró received Miriápura Turíkaro very nicely and asked him: "In what condition do you come?" And Miriápura Turíkaro answered him: "I come in a very bad condition. My older son killed my younger son." Then Uariró offered Miriápura Turíkaro a seat. Uariró had almost no food, because when the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro hid the food stones (Bajséboperi), all the food in Uarirowí became exhausted. Then all that Uariró could offer Miriápura Turíkaro was a "kiñapira" (25) of only one chili,

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25. Chilies boiled in water.

an ugly piece of bread made out of wild seeds, /354/ and a "mingao" (26) also made of wild seeds. When Miriápura

26. Pottage made with the flour from the bitter manioc.

Turíkaro saw the food that Uariró offered him, he was not tempted to eat and he told Uariró that he should take the food and put it away. Then Uariró took the food and put it away. Then he returned to speak with Miriápura Turíkaro, and he asked him: "Are you really coming to stay here to live?" And Miriápura Turíkaro answered him: "I am really coming to stay here to live. If I had not really meant to stay here to live,

* 539 /354 cont./
I would have passed by." Then Miriápura Turíkaro asked Uariró: "Do you not have any food?" And Uariró answered: "No, I have nothing, nothing to eat." Then Miriápura Turíkaro picked up the jar in which he had the food stones (Bajséboperi). And there were ten food stones. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to Uariró: "Put these two stones in the vessel where the manioc starch settles. Put these other two stones in the vessel where the manioc dough for making manioc flour is kept. Put these other two little stones in the trough where the chicha is prepared. Put these two little stones on top of the grill that is over the hearth. And put these last two little stones in the gourd where the coca is placed." Then Uariró received the ten little stones and did all that Miriápura Turíkaro had ordered him to do. And Uariró began to put the little stones on a lateral side of the maloca, and then he went to the other lateral side of the maloca and also put the little stones there. When Uariró had finished doing this, Miriápura Turíkaro ordered him to go and look where he had first put the stones. Uariró did this and found the jar full of manioc starch. Then Miriápura Turíkaro ordered Uariró to go and look at the grill that was over the hearth. And Uariró went and looked at the grill and saw that the grill was full of smoked fish and smoked game. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to Uariró: "Bring here everything that is to be found on the grill and pick out what you like best to eat." Uariró brought this to where Miriápura Turíkaro was, and both started to eat. When they had finished eating, Miriápura Turíkaro ordered Uariró to put away all the smoked fish and the smoked game and the manioc bread that had been left over, and he ordered him to bring the chicha. Uariró brought the chicha, /355/ and gave it to Miriápura Turíkaro to drink, and as soon as Miriápura Turíkaro received the chicha, Yúpuri Baúro left Diamajamirawí and continued his journey. And Yúpuri Baúro arrived that same day at Uarirowí. And Yúpuri Baúro went to Uarirowí because Bajsbowí /sic/ had been abandoned and Uarirowí had replaced Bajsebowí. Yúpuri Baúro arrived with Pamúri Majsá. Yúpuri Baúro brought all the Yuruparises and had orders from Yepá Huáke

539 /355 cont./
to allot these Yuruparises to Miriápura Turíkaro. Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá entered Uarirowí, and after having drunk chicha, Yúpuri Baúro asked Miriápura Turíkaro: "What is new in this world?" And Miriápura Turíkaro answered him: "Things are going very badly in this world." Yúpuri Baúro already knew all that had happened, because Yepá Huáke had told him all that had come to pass, so that Yúpuri Baúro arrived at Uarirowí in a bad humor. Miriápura Turíkaro made an offer to Yúpuri Baúro to stay to sleep at Uarirowí, but Yúpuri Baúro said no, that he would continue on. But before continuing his journey, Yúpuri Baúro told Miriápura Turíkaro that he would leave him two Yuruparises. And formerly the Yuruparises were not as they are now. Now the Yuruparises are like flutes, but before the Yuruparises were little birds. And these little birds (Yuruparises) were kept in cages, and the little birds were nicely feathered. Miriápura Turíkaro received the two little birds (Yuruparises) without knowing what these little birds were. Then Miriápura Turíkaro asked Yúpuri Baúro: "What shall I do with this little box?" Then Yúpuri Baúro, very angry, answered him: "You do not know anything. What did Yepá Haúke tell you?" Then Miriápura Turíkaro said: "No, I do not know anything." Meanwhile all the Pamúri Majsá had already gone out to the boat of the gíío /not italicized in the original text/ (27) where

> 27. Yúpuri Baúro and his people always traveled in a mythological gíí /not italicized in the original text/.

Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá were traveling. Miriápura Turíkaro was accompanying Yúpuri Baúro to the port, and halfway down the road, where there was no one to see them, Yúpuri Baúro showed Miriápura Turíkaro the Yuruparises and explained to him what kind of thing these Yuruparises were. And Yúpuri Baúro opened the little box and all kinds of music came out of it. Uariró was frightened and thought that his son-in-law, Miriápura Turíkaro, was truly like a god. Then

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*539 Yúpuri Baúro told Miriápura Turíkaro to be very careful with these Yuraparises, and that /356/ things should not go wrong as had happened with the two sons of Miriápura Turíkaro. And also he charged him strongly not to show these Yuruparises to anyone, because Yepá Huáke had left two Yuruparises to each people (28), and these Yuruparises were like the representa-

28. To the Tukano /Tucano/, Dsano /Desana/, Yurutí, Siriano, etc.

tives of Yepá Huáke on this earth, and because of that they were shown so much respect. And the women and children could not see these Yuruparises, but only the adult men. And the two Yuruparises that Yúpuri Baúro had given to Miriápura Turíkaro turned into persons when Yúpuri Baúro and Miriápura Turíkaro arrived at Diawí. These two Yuruparises were a male and a female. And they were as brother and sister. And the Yuruparí male was called Deté and the Yuruparí female was called Miriápura Numió. In Diawí these Yuruparises were going to make all the people immortal. This is why they were shown so much respect.

Before leaving Uarirowí, Yúpuri Baúro told Miriápura Turíkaro that Miriápura Turíkaro was going to have on that same day a son by the older daughter of Uariró, and on that same day Miriápura Turíkaro would have two twin daughters by the younger daughter of Uariró. And that son and those two twin daughters would grow up in only one day and become adults. And Yúpuri Baúro told Miriápura Turíkaro that, in Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro would open a little bit the box in which the two Yuruparises of the Tukano /Tucano/ were. And Yúpuri Baúro was going to do this so that Miriápura Turíkaro could hear in Uarirowí the music that came out of the little box in which the Yuruparises of the Tukano were. And as soon as Miriápura Turíkaro heard that music, Miriápura Turíkaro would have to leave Uarirowí with his two wives, his two daughters, his son, and Uariró to go to

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Emekowí, which is a maloca that is in the sky, in the sun itself. And Yúpuri Baúro said to Miriápura Turíkaro that when he reached Emekowí he should smoke tobacco and blow tobacco smoke on himself in order to divine what would happen. If what Miriápura Turíkaro divined was that something bad was going to happen, then he would have to leave his two women, his two daughters, his son, and Uariró in Emekowí, and would have to travel alone to Diawipejtá (29). In Diawipejtá,

29. The port of Diawí.

Miriápura Turíkaro would have to open the little box of the two Yuruparises a little bit, so that Yúpuri Baúro would hear the music. /357/ When Yúpuri Baúro heard the music, he would go out of Diawipejtá to receive Miriápura Turíkaro and to receive the two Yuruparises and keep them until Yepá Huáke arrived at Diawí, because it was Yepá Huáke who was going to show the Yuruparises to the people.

Yúpuri Baúro had also told Miriápura Turíkaro in Uarirowí that if the divination that Miriápura Turíkaro was going to do in Emekowí came out with good omens, then Miriápura Turíkaro would have to leave Emekowí with his two women, his two daughters, his son, and Uariró and go to Numiá Pejtawí, and in that port of the maloca of Numiawí he would have to go to and enter Numiawí. And in Numiawí, Miriápura Turíkaro would have to organize his people so that they would know where they should sleep. And Miriápura Turíkaro and the son of Miriápura Turíkaro should sleep in the center of the maloca. And Miriápura Turíkaro must tell his two women, his two daughters, and Uariró to look toward the back door of the maloca, that he and his son would look toward the front door. And Yúpuri Baúro also told Miriápura Turíkaro that a tree /Sp. palo/ was going to appear in Numiá Pejtawí, and that at the foot of that tree Miriápura Turíkaro must leave and keep the Yuruparises. Yúpuri Baúro also said that a tree would appear for him too in Diawipejtá and that he too would keep his Yuruparises there.

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And Yúpuri Baúro said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "I shall open my little box where my Yuruparises are to see if you have already arrived at Numiawí. When you return to the maloca, after having put away the little box of the Yuruparises, explain to your son that he should bathe in the river at midnight." The natives know when it is midnight because a little bird that is called Serítia starts to sing; and the female of this bird is called Ñámiri Pákaro Numió. Then Yúpuri Baúro said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "Today I am continuing on. I am going to stay in Diadasirawí. On the second day I arrive at Yukaniwí. On the third day I arrive at San Miguel Wí (30). On the fourth

30. According to the informant, a maloca located in San Migue, Brazil.

day I arrive at Diamarirawí. On the fifth day I arrive at Diakajseropoeawí. On the sixth day I arrive at Diawí. On the seventh day you should leave Uarirowí."

Miriápura Turíkaro stayed in Uarirowí counting the days /358/ to see when Yúpuri Baúro would arrive in Diawí and to see when he must leave for Emekowí.

On the seventh day Miriápura Turíkaro left Uarirowí with Uariró, his two women, his two daughters, and his son to go to Emekowí. He arrived that same day, and he was there a while smoking tobacco and blowing smoke and divining to see how things were going to turn out. When Miriápura Turíkaro had divined, he said to his son: "Things will go very badly for me in the future." Then his son answered: "Give those Yuruparises to Yúpuri Baúro. I am not capable of keeping those Yuruparises." Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his son: "No, I will not give those Yuruparises to Yúpuri Baúro. Let us go to Numiá Pejtawí." Then they left Emekowí and went to Numiá Pejtawí. They arrived at Numiá Pejtawí that same day. They entered Numiawí, and Miriápura Turíkaro and his son sat down in the middle of the maloca. Seated there and without standing up, Miriápura Turíkaro organized his people and showed them where they

*539 /358 cont./
could hang their hammocks. When he had organized them, Miriápura Turíkaro ordered them to look toward the back door. Then they immediately turned around to look toward the back door. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his son: "You remain seated here and look at me." He next took out the little box where the Yuruparises were, and he stood up, and very slowly, raising and lowering his hands in which he held the little box, he went toward the port. And in the port Miriápura Turíkaro found the tree that Yúpuri Baúro had told him he would find. He put at the foot of the tree the little box in which the Yuruparises were carried, and on top of the little box he put a lighted cigar /Sp. tabaco/. Then Miriápura Turíkaro stood up and waited to see what would happen. Then from the direction where Diawí was Miriápura Turíkaro heard some music. Then Miriápura Turíkaro opened his little box, and the Yuruparises of Miriápura Turíkaro answered the music that came from the Yuruparises of Yúpuri Baúro in Diawí. Then Yúpuri Baúro thought: "The divination turned out well for Miriápura Turíkaro in Emekowí, that is why he is in Numiawí." And Yúpuri Baúro was content. Yúpuri Baúro closed his little box of Yuruparises in Diawipejtá, and Miriápura Turíkaro closed his little box of Yuruparises in Numiá Pejtawí. Yúpuri Baúro returned to Diawí, and Miriápura Turíkaro also returned to Numiawí. In Numiawí, Miriápura Turíkaro said to his son: "When it is /359/ midnight, that is, when Serítia and Ñámiri Pákaro Numió sing, go and open the little box that is at the foot of the tree in the port. Open the little box and turn it toward the south, the north, the west, and the east. Afterwards, leave the little box covered next to the tree, go to the river, and bathe. Then take the tree bark from which one procures soap foam and drink this foam and then vomit." After Miriápura Turíkaro said all this to his son, they chatted a while longer and then they went to bed. The two daughters of Miriápura Turíkaro had listened to the music of the Yuruparises, were very curious, and were sleeping and awakening all the time. Miriápura Turíkaro did not sleep the whole night. At midnight Serítia

*539 /359 cont./
and Ñámari Pákaro Numió began to sing, but the son of Miriápura Turíkaro did not awaken.

Then Miriápura Turíkaro shouted to him: "Son, awaken and go to bathe." Miriápura Turíkaro called him in this way twice, but his son did not wake up. The third time the father called him in this way the son woke up. Then Miriápura Turíkaro arose and gave him a punch for not having paid attention to him, and knocked him to the ground.

Miriápura Turíkaro had told his two daughters that his son was going to bathe in the river with the bark of the trees from which the natives obtain soap. He had also told them that he had left these trees from which one takes the bark that produces soap next to the tree that was located in the port of Numiawí. He also told them that their brother would bathe at midnight, and he ordered them not to go out of the maloca until the brother returned from the port of Numiawí after having bathed.

When Miriápura Turikaro hit and knocked his son to the ground, the two daughters stood up and said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "Papa, we are going to bathe in the river." They wanted to go to bathe in the river because they suspected that the Yuruparises were in the port of Numiawí and they were curious to see them. Miriápura Turíkaro, frightened, said nothing, and they ran to their room, each picked up a jar for carrying water, a torch, and left the maloca, running in the direction of the port. When they arrived at the port, they left the jars on the ground and immediately, with the torches, went and cast light in order to see what there was at the foot of the tree that was set in the port of Numiawí. And the two sisters did not find anything at the foot of the tree, because /360/ the little box had disappeared. The two women looked for a while, and in a short time there was a flash of lightning, but in the shape of a person, next to the tree set in the port of Numiawí. Then one of the frightened sisters said to the other: "Sister, let us go away from here, that flash of lightning was a person." Then the other sister answered: "No, that was what sounded like music yesterday. Let us surround the tree well. You station yourself on the other side, I shall station myself on this side, and we shall cast light with the torches."

* 539 /360 cont./

Meanwhile, in the port of Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro had opened his little box of Yuruparises. And no sooner had he done this than next to the tree that was in the port of Numiawí two personages with human form, a man and a woman, appeared. And both were very well dressed. And these two personages, who were the Yuruparises, appeared only to answer the music of the Yuruparises of Yúpuri Baúro, who was in the port of Diawí. The two girls, very frightened by what they had just seen, began to tremble and fell seated on the ground. And the two personages, upon seeing the girls, disappeared and again turned into birds, gave a jump toward the woods, and disappeared. And as soon as the two little birds disappeared, it thundered very, very hard. And as soon as it thundered very, very hard, in the port of Diawí the little birds that were in the little box that Yúpuri Baúro had in his hands also flew away and disappeared forever. Then Yúpuri Baúro cursed Miriápura Turíkaro for having spoiled everything. Then Yúpuri Baúro turned himself into a hummingbird and flew to the port of Numiawí. And Yúpuri Baúro heard how the two sisters spoke. And one said to the other: "I told you to grab hard. Now look, they escaped and we did not catch them." As soon as he heard this, Yúpuri Baúro turned himself from a hummingbird into Yúpuri Baúro again. And Yúpuri Baúro was in a very bad humor and very angry. And Yúpuri Baúro had turned himself into a person again in the front yard of Numiawí. Yúpuri Baúro did not enter Numiawí, but called to Miriápura Turíkaro, shouting: "Miriápura Turíkaro, bring your son here." Then Miriápura Turíkaro answered, "All right," and came out of Numiawí embracing his son. Then Yúpuri Baúro said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "You did not respect Yepá Huáke, and now you do not respect me either." Then Yúpuri Baúro took out an apparatus that looks like pincers, which /361/ in Tukano /Tucano/ is called Séobeto, and cut off the head of the son of Miriápura Turíkaro.

*539 /361 cont./

The son of Miriápura Turíkaro fell to the ground dead. Immediately, Miriápura Turíkaro fell to the ground on his knees, mourning because his son had died. Yúpuri Baúro immediately disappeared again. And in spirit form Yúpuri Baúro went to the port of Numiawí and remained above the sisters, watching them. The two sisters suspected that Yúpuri Baúro was above them, watching them in the form of a spirit, and so they laughed and said: "Yúpuri Baúro certainly is vain." And Yúpuri Baúro felt like killing them, but he could not do it because the two sisters had put on large hats, which in Tukano /Tucano/ are called Uetitóke. Then Yúpuri Baúro made a pachuba bush appear. And Yúpuri Baúro wanted to turn himself into a raceme of the pachuba bush and come down the pachuba bush and kill the two sisters. But Yúpuri Baúro could not do this, because one of the sisters grabbed the pachuba bush and pulled it up, and that is why Yúpuri Baúro could not continue coming down. Then Yúpuri Baúro turned himself into a spirit again and returned to Diawí. In Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro made all of the Pamúri Majsá enter, and he barred the door well.

In Numiá Pejtawí one of the sisters asked the other: "Did you notice how those two personages were, the ones who appeared coming out of the little box and who made a sound like music?" "Yes," answered the other sister, "one was bigger than the other." Then one of the sisters picked up the pachuba bush and cut it into two pieces, one a little bigger than the other one. And they measured with the joints of the right index finger. They looked through the stalks that they had cut from the pachuba bush and saw that there was a very well made hole on the inside of each stalk. Then both sisters blew through the tube of the pachuba stalks and no music came out. Then they tried to blow the pachuba tubes with the right breast, but music did not come out either. Then each of the sisters put the tube of the pachuba bush in her vagina to see if music would come out through the vagina, but music did not come out either. Then a little fish from the river appeared, and one of the sisters called to it:

* 539 /361 cont./
"Uaí Numió, come over here. See that we have taken these Yuruparises away from the men. Now the women have them." /362/ Then Uaí Numió said: "I have never seen those apparatuses." Then one of the sisters threw a stone at the head of Uaí Numió and killed it. This is why all the Uaí fish have a little stone on the inside of their heads. Then another fish appeared, and one of the sisters called to it: "Dóe Numió, come over here. See that we have taken these Yuruparisese /sic/ away from the men. Now we women have them." Then Dóe Numió said: "I have never seen those apparatuses." Then one of the sisters threw a stone at the head of Dóe Numió and killed it. That is why all of the Dóe fish also have a little stone on the inside of their heads. Then another fish called Mejiá Numió came. Then one of the sisters said: "Come over here, Mejiá Numió. If you do not pay attention to me, this stone is going to kill you." And while she was saying this, the girl took out a stone and showed it to Mejiá Numió. Then Mediá Numió, out of fear, said: "All right, I will pay attention." Then Mejiá Numió came out of the port of Numiawí. Then another fish called Uarí Numió appeared, and one of the sisters called to it: "Come over here, Uarí Numió." And Uarí Numió immediately said: "All right." And Uarí Numió also came out to the port of Numiawí. Then the sisters asked Mejiá Numió what they should do with those pachuba flutes so that they would make sounds like music. Then Mejiá Numió said: "That is very easy. I will teach you." Then the sisters answered. "Good, do it." As soon as the two sisters said this, Mejiá Numió ran to the port, brought mud, and closed up half of the hole of one of the pachuba tubes. Then he took a thin little stick and pierced this mud, making a tiny hole. Then he picked some leaves, wrapped the pachuba tube in these leaves, tied it with some vines, and put it to one side. Then Mejiá Numió ran to the port again and repeated the same operation with the other pachuba tube. When he had finished doing this, Mejiá Numió told the two sisters that Yuruparieses /sic/ were needed for Mejiá Numió and for Uarí Numió. Then one of the

539 /362 cont./
sisters picked up the pachuba bush again and cut two more Yuruparises, one bigger than the other. At once Mejiá Numió prepared the two Yuruparises in the same way that he had prepared the first two. Then Mejiá Numió said: "All right, now they are ready. The two Yuruparises that I made first are for you, and the last two /363/ Yuruparises that I made are for Uarí Numió and for me." Then Mejiá Numió said: "All right, let us play." And Mejiá Numió and Uarí Numió played the Yuruparíese /sic/ together at the same time, and the music came out well played. Then the two sisters played their Yuruparises together and answered the music that Mejiá Numió and Uarí Numió had played on their Yuruparises. And the music of the four Yuruparises was very good.

As soon as this music of the four Yuruparises was heard, all the men of all the people (31) were frightened. In Diawí,

31. Tukano /Tucano/, Desano /Desana/, Yurutí, Siriano, etc.

Yúpuri Baúro had the doors of the maloca closed very well, and Yúpuri Baúro was trembling with fear. All the world trembled because the women had won and because Yúpuri Baúro had been humiliated.

Miriápura Turíkaro was also very frightened and was trembling. Then Miriápura Turíkaro picked up the Bajséboperi (food stones), the Séoda (the piola /not italicized in the original text/ that they used to clear the forest to make gardens), the Bajsébo Kumúru, the Bajsébo Sáriro (which is where the gourd for the coca is kept), and the Bajsébo Uajátoro (which was the gourd for the coca). After having picked up all this, he moved with his two women, with his son, and with Uariró to Uarirowí. And in Uarirowí he closed himself in, barring the two doors of the maloca.

In the meantime, the two sisters, Uarí Numió, and Mejiá Numió changed their names. And the four were now called Miriápura Majsá Numiá. Then the Miriápura Majsá Numiá

*539 /363 cont./
formed a kind of committee and went to Diawí to take from Yúpuri Baúro all the rest of the things that remained in the power of Yúpuri Baúro, that is, the feathers, the fine switches (Imisa), the tobacco, the coca, the rattles, etc.

Then Yúpuri Baúro, out of fear that the Miriápura Majsá Numiá would enter Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro preferred to throw into the yard of Diawí all the things that the Miriápura Majsá Numiá had come to look for in Diawí. After having done all this, Yúpuri Baúro took a basket and hung it on his back, with the loop that supported the basket fastened around his forehead. Then he picked up the vessel in which water is carried and the gourd where the women /364/ put the fire before going to the garden. And in this way Yúpuri Baúro and all the men were humiliated, because it was as if they were women.

The women arrived at the front yard of Diawí, picked up all of the objects that Yúpuri Baúro had thrown there, and without entering Diawí, they returned to Numiawí. They entered Numiawí and took from there also the feathers, the coca, the tobacco, the rattles, etc. After taking all this, the Miriápura Majsá Numiá left Numiawí and went to Ojkosererawí with all the things that they were carrying. They entered Ojkosererawí, scared the men, who went out running, and on that same day the Miriápura Majsá Numiá left Ojkosererawí and went to Toakapawí. The owner of that maloca was called Uapáo, and they took Ñajkeropoáro and Sioyajpú away from him. Then the Miriápura Majsá Numiá left Toakapawí and went to Euerawí and scared all the men of that maloca. They took nothing from there. Then they left Euerawí and went to Diaserawí. The owner of Diaserawí was called Sé, and from him they took Ueopá Numiapá (which is like a very wide gelder /Sp. capador/). In Diaserawí they also scared all the men. Then they left Diaserawí and went to Ajumbuwí. There they entered and scared the men. They left Ajumbuwí and went to Awí. They entered Awí, scared the men from that maloca, and stayed to sleep there.

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The day on which the Miriápura Majsá Numiá arrived at Awí to stay to sleep, Yepá Huáke arrived at Diawí and asked Yúpuri Baúro: "What happened, Yúpuri Baúro?" And Yúpuri Baúro answered him: "The women have been annoying me." Then Yepá Huáke said to him: "I told you so. It is the fault of Miriápura Turíkaro." Then Yúpuri Baúro answered: "Yes, I know, Miriápura Turíkaro spoiled everything." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Come with me." Then Yúpuri Baúro answered: "Who else am I going with?" And Yepá Huáke said: "You and Yepára Oakajpeá are going." Then Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Oakajpeá turned themselves into spirits and went to Biarawí with Yepá Huáke. Once they entered Biarawí, Yepá Huáke gave Yúpuri Baúro a great deal of chili to chew. After Yúpuri Baúro had chewed this chili, Yepá Huáke ordered him to spit with his head resting on his arms. Yúpuri Baúro spit, but /365/ saliva did not come out. Then Yepá Huáke ordered Yepára Oakajpeá to do the same, and when Yepára Oakajpeá spit, then saliva did come out. The saliva of Yepára Oakajpeá came out like a vine /Sp. bejuco/. As soon as Yepá Huáke saw that the vine was coming out of Yepára Oakajpeá and that the vine had reached his Adam's apple, then Yepá Huáke caught the end of the vine at the height of the Adam's apple and pulled the vine from Yepára Oakajpeá. Then Yepára Oakajpeá fell to the ground dead. Then Yepá Huáke ordered Yepára Oakajpeá to stand up, Yepára Oakajpeá revived and stood up. After Yepára Oakajpeá stood up, Yepá Huáke left the maloca of Biarawí, and Yepá Huáke set a tree /Sp. palo/ in the yard of Biarawí. Around this tree Yepá Huáke tied the vine that he had pulled from the mouth of Yepára Oakajpeá. As soon as he had tied the vine, Yepá Huáke pulled it to see what its length was. Then he cut a small piece of timber and tied this timber to the other end of the vine. Then Yepá Huáke made 20 marks on the bark of the vine, but without cutting it. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Roll it up." Yúpuri Baúro rolled it up, and after having rolled it up, Yepá Huaáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro to

* /365 cont./
539 unroll it again. And when Yúpuri Baúro unrolled the vine, 20 flutes of small Yuruparises came out. Then Yepá Huáke took the bark off a tree /Sp. palo/. Yepá Huáke made a small slit in the biggest Yurupari flute and placed a little stick to block this slit and keep it open. Then he wrapped this flute with the tree bark. Then he took a stick and chewed it and took a small flute and put this chewed stick inside the small flute. And when he had done this, the same thing happened to all the other flutes as if by a miracle. After this Yepá Huáke made a branch appear, and with this branch he hit a tree, and as if by a miracle 17 men appeared. As soon as the men appeared, Yepá Huáke took the biggest Yurupari flute. Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Oakajpeá, and the 17 men picked up the rest of the Yurupari flutes. Then they stood in a row. Yepá Huáke blew on his flute to see how the music sounded. And the Yurupari of Yepá Huáke sounded very good. And all the flutes sounded very good.

/366/ As soon as Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, and his people made the Yuruparises sound, the Miriápura Majsá Numiá left Awí and went to hide in Toakapawí. Then Yepá Huáke made some hats of leaves for Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Oakajpeá, and the 17 men. Then Yepá Huáke ordered them to paint all their faces with charcoal. Then Yepá Huáke and the people left Biarawí to pursue the Miriápura Majsá Numiá and went to Uajsopiríwima. This maloca is located above Toakapawí. There, Yepá Huáke blew tobacco and divined. At midday the women were celebrating, playing the Yuruparises in Toakapawí. When the day was turning dark, Yepá Huáke and his people left Uajsopiríwima to attack the women in Toakapawí. Then Yepá Huáke ordered his people to attack the women without fear. The women were talking and were drunk. Yepá Huáke entered Toakapawí and thought of putting the Yurupari that he carried into the heart of the women, but then he thought that if he did this perhaps all the women would die and there would only be men left in this world. Then, instead of putting the Yurupari in the heart, he put the Yurupari in the vagina, and all of the women

*539 /366 cont./
fell unconscious. All the men entered and picked up all the Yuruparises that the women had and they hid them outside the maloca. Then Yepá Huáke had all the women awakened, and the women did not have Yuruparises now. The men had won. And that is why it is prohibited for women to look at the Yuruparises.

VIII. The Seed of the Manioc.

Yúpuri Baúro was calling to Miriápura Turíkaro at Uarirowí to give him seed of manioc, coca, and tobacco. And Yúpuri Baúro was asking Miriápura Turíkaro for these seeds, because, since Miriápura Turíkaro had hidden the Bajséboperi (the food stones), there was now nothing to eat in this world. Yúpuri Baúro called to Miriápura Turíkaro three times, and three times he asked him for the seeds. And Miriápura Turíkaro did not answer. Then Yúpuri Baúro called Yepá Huáke, and Yepá Huáke was in the sky. Then Yepá Huáke came down to Uarirowí. Yúpuri Baúro was also in Uarirowí, but outside of the maloca, and /367/ Miriápura Turíkaro did not let him enter. When Yepá Huáke came down, he also began to call to Miriápura Turíkaro, but Miriápura Turíkaro neither answered nor opened the door of Uarirowí. Then Yepá Huáke said: "We cannot do anything with Miriápura Turíkaro, it is very difficult to get the Bajséboperi out again. I gave you (Yúpuri Baúro) all that you would need. As you did wrong, Miriápura Turíkaro will not give up the Bajséboperi, because those Bajséboperi belong to him. Provisionally I am going to give you tobacco already prepared, coca already prepared, manioc bread and flour, but I am not going to give you the seeds of tobacco, coca, and manioc."

Then Yúpuri Baúro left Uarirowí and returned again to Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro arrived at Diawí, and there he spoke to all his Pamúri Majsá and he told them that they were going to hold a great fiesta in order to test the coca that Yepá Huáke had given them. And before Yúpuri Baúro had the fiesta in Diawí, Yepá Huáke appeared in Diawí to talk to Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "I do not have seeds of coca

*539 /367 cont./
or tobacco or manioc. All that I had I gave to Miriápura Turíkaro, but, since you did wrong, all that is now lost. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, is going to give you the seeds of manioc, coca, and tobacco. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, will give two little sticks to your woman (woman of Yúpuri Baúro). These little sticks will be as though stained with blood. I tell you this so that you will know. When your woman feels a blow on her body (32), it is because Yepá Uejkeó is coming with the seed.

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32. According to the informant, the shaman also feels a blow on his body every time travelers arrive at a maloca.

Your woman must go immediately to the port of Diawí, and you must order all your Pamúri Majsá to turn around and look toward the back door of Diawí, all lying in their own hammocks. If you do not pay attention to me this time, you will lose the manioc seed again, just as you lost the Bajséboperi the last time. All the natives the Vaupés are like animals. Someday I will send you chickens, dogs, and pigs so that you can compare yourselves with them. I am cursing you. Look at the group of the Ereya (33) and at the group of Siópuri Uejké (34). They really

33. Brazilians.

34. Colombians.

are good people. /368/ They have their own chiefs and they pay attention to their chiefs. They truly obey me. Go into the maloca of Diawí." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí, and there he ordered that all the Pamúri Majsá turn to look toward the back door. And all of the Pamúri Majsá obeyed. And they obeyed Yúpuri Baúro because formerly the Tukano /Tucano/ were very respectful. And formerly Yúpuri Baúro could strike Yepára Oakajpeá (35), and Yepára

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35. In the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry,

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Yepára Oakajpeá forms the sib immediately inferior to that of Yúpuri Baúro.

Oakajpeá had to bear it. All the Mamí could strike their Nijiá (36) this way, and the Nijiá had to bear it. But since the

36. The older brothers could strike their younger brothers.

whites arrived at the Vaupés, the Tukano have become disrespectful.

As soon as she felt the blow on her body, the woman of Yúpuri Baúro went to the port of Diawí to receive Yepá Uejkeó. And as soon as the woman of Yúpuri Baúro arrived at the port of Diawí, Yepá Uejkeó, accompanied by three more women called Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá, came upstream.

When Yepá Huáke had gone down to Diawí to speak with Yúpuri Baúro, Yepá Huáke had burned, as if by a miracle, a garden behind Diawí.

Yepá Uejkeó and Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá arrived at the port of Diawí. The woman of Yúpuri Baúro received them very politely. Each of the four women brought a stalk of manioc, only they did not give the stalks of manioc to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro, but rather they went to the garden that Yepá Huáke had burned. They went around the maloca of Diawí so that the Pamúri Majsá would not see them. When they arrived at the garden, Yepá Uejkeó stood amidst the Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá and told the woman of Yúpuri Baúro to stand back a bit and to give great care and attention to what they were going to do. The stalk of the manioc seed that Yepá Uejkeó held was called Mejká Diáran Dejké. Then Yepá Uejkeó said, throwing her stalk of manioc: "You go here, in the middle, Mejká Diáran Dejké." Then one of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying: "Batiá Dejké, you go on the right side." Then another of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying:

* 539 /368 cont./
"Yausó /369/ Dejké, you go on the left side." Afterwards the third Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk of manioc, saying: "Pamó Dejké, you go on the right side." Then Yepá Uejkeó said to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro: "Come here." And saying this, she pulled her by her hand and brought her among them. Then Yepá Uejkeó said to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro: "I am giving you these seeds, but these seeds are people. Take good care of them. When you are menstruating, do not come to the garden to pull manioc, because that is bad. And you are going to suffer very much, because now it is not as before, when you had the Bajséboperi. Now you will have to come every day to the garden to weed and to take good care of the manioc, and you are going to have to work hard." And when Yepá Uejkeó had finished saying all this, the women that were there clapped their hands and laughed with joy.

Then in the maloca of Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro thought that some men had arrived and were molesting his woman. Then Yúpuri Baúro approached the door of Diawí and watched to see what was happening. As soon as Yúpuri Baúro caught sight of the five women, Yepá Uejkeó said: "Yúpuri Baúro is looking at us." And then Yepá Uejkeó and the three Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá disappeared. And only the woman of Yúpuri Baúro remained. And the manioc did not disappear, except that before there had been no weeds in the garden, but in one second the garden was full of weeds.

Then the woman of Yúpuri Baúro went to the maloca of Diawí. When she arrived at the door of Diawí, she called to Yúpuri Baúro to open the door of Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro opened the door. She entered Diawí, and Yúpuri Baúro was standing there in Diawí. Then she said: "You are a bad man who does not pay attention. Go weed the garden." Then Yupúri Baúro said: "All right, I am going to work." Yúpuri Baúro immediately invited all the Pamúri Majsá to go to work with him in weeding the garden. And all went with him. They arrived at the garden and in a short while weeded the garden. All returned to Diawí again, and Yúpuri Baúro said to his woman: "Now I have

*539 /369 cont./
weeded the garden. Now you may go to pull manioc." She said: "Well, this is how it will always be, in order to weed a garden, many people have to work."

/370/
IX. The Seeds of Tobacco and Coca.

The day on which they weeded the garden Yúpuri Baúro left Diawí at dusk and went to the garden to see if he could find tobacco and coca. Yúpuri Baúro looked and looked, but he could find nothing. Then Yúpuri Baúro thought to himself: "What a shame. Yepá Uejkeó was certainly stingy with my coca and tobacco seed." Then Yúpuri Baúro returned again to Diawí. When he arrived at Diawí, he said to Pamúri Majsá: "We have neither coca nor tobacco. Tomorrow I am going to send Numiangó and Pareroangó to look for tobacco." On the next day, in the morning, Numiangó and Pareroangó left to look for tobacco. The two women went down the river and arrived at Diaseorawí. The owner of the maloca of Diaserowí /sic/ was named Uaí Majsé. The two women entered Diaseorawí and said to Uaí Majsé: "Yúpuri Baúro requested us to come to ask you for tobacco and coca." Then Uaí Majsé said: "Yes, I am going to give you tobacco and coca already prepared." Then Uaí Majsé gave them tobacco leaf and coca already prepared. Numiangó received the coca and the tobacco. Then Pareroangó said to Numiangó: "Consider the fact that Yúpuri Baúro did not want only coca already prepared or the leaf of the tobacco brought to him, but rather he wanted the seed of the coca and the seed of the tobacco." After saying this, Pareroangó went out of Diaseorawí. Numiangó remained seated inside the maloca of Diaseorawí. While Numiangó chatted with Uaí Majsé, Pareroangó had gone out of Diaseorawí to see if she could find the seed of the coca and steal it. Pareroangó did not find the seed of the coca, and then she returned to the maloca of Diaseorawí. And Pareroangó heard a child crying inside the maloca, and the crying came from the back

*539 /370 cont./
part of the maloca. Then Pareroangó went to the back part of the maloca in order to find out who was crying. And Pareroangó saw that the one crying was a child. This child was coca, because Uaí Majsé saw it as coca, but Pareroangó saw it as a child. Then Pareroangó picked up the child and left the maloca of Diasecrawí with it, and she caressed the child. And Pareroangó began to count its fingers, and she counted six fingers on each hand, and Pareroangó saw those fingers of the child as coca. Then Pareroangó thought about what to do to steal this coca. Then Pareroangó decided to pull out a finger from the right hand. And she pulled out the finger that was between the thumb and the index finger. And /371/ as soon as she had done this, the finger between the thumb and index finger of the left hand also disappeared. And as soon as she pulled out this finger, the child screamed and fell to the ground. And there where the child fell, a coca plant came up immediately. As soon as Uaí Majsé heard the cry of the child, Uaí Majsé left the maloca of Diasecrawí and went to where Pareroangó was. Uaí Majsé turned the coca bush into a child again and put it on his left arm. Then Uaí Majsé asked Pareroangó: "What are you doing?" Then Pareroangó told the truth: "I am stealing coca." Then Uaí Majsé asked her: "Who sent you to steal this coca?" Then Pareroangó answered: "Yúpuri Baúro sent me to steal this coca." Then Uaí Majsé said: "All right, you can take it, because Yúpuri Baúro sent you. If you were stealing this coca on your own account, I would not let you do it. Take this coca to Yúpuri Baúro and tell him that tomorrow I am going to talk to him. I have this coca, but one suffers very much with this coca. In order to eat this coca, one must think a great deal. And when one eats this coca, one cannot sleep and stays awake thinking and thinking without being able to sleep." Then Numiangó and Pareroangó bade farewell to Uaí Majsé and returned to Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro already knew what was happening in Diasecrawí. When Numiangó and Pareroangó arrived at Diawí, they entered. Yúpuri Baúro was sitting in Diawí. Mumiangó /sic/ went to where Yúpuri Baúro was sitting and

+ 539 /371 cont./ handed him only the leaf of tobacco and the coca already prepared, but not the seed of either of these two plants. When Yúpuri Baúro received the leaf of tobacco, it seemed to Yúpuri Baúro that the leaf of tobacco was a smoked fish. And as soon as Yúpuri Baúro received the leaf of tobacco that seemed to him to be a smoked fish, Pareroangó handed him the seed of coca. Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "Did you ask Uaí Majsé for this coca seed?" Then Pareroangó answered him: "No, I stole this coca seed." Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "What did Uaí Majsé say to you?" Then Pareroangó said: "Uaí Majsé asked me who had sent me to steal that coca?" Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "And what did you say in answer to him?" Then Pareroangó answered: "I told Uaí Majsé [685] that Yúpuri Baúro had sent me to steal that coca." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "I do not want this stolen coca. Keep this coca." This is why the Tukano /Tucano/ now do not receive stolen articles and why thieves are pointed out among /372/ the Tukano. Then Yúpuri Baúro ordered Pareroangó to go to plant that seed. Then Pareroangó was very happy and went and planted the seed. And that same day the seed blossomed into a coca bush and produced a great deal of coca. Then Pareroangó returned to Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro continued to look at the smoked fish, convinced that it was a smoked fish, when in reality it was a leaf of tobacco. Pareroangó remained standing inside the maloca of Diawí and remained looking at Yúpuri Baúro to see what he would do with the leaf of tobacco that he held in his hands. Then Yúpuri Baúro thought: "This is not tobacco. Those are lies of Uaí Majsé." Then Yúpuri Baúro went to his room and took a piece of manioc bread and went out again to the center of the maloca of Diawí. Then Yúpuri Baúro began to eat the smoked fish. And just as soon as Yúpuri Baúro began to eat a little of this fish, the rest of the fish disappeared. And immediately Yúpuri Baúro went crazy and went out of the maloca of Diawí, running on all fours. And Yúpuri Baúro circled around the maloca of Diawí, running on all fours. And

* 539 /372 cont./
Yúpuri Baúro began to vomit, and where the vomit of Yúpuri Baúro fell, a tobacco bush came up. And that is how the Tukano /Tucano/ obtained the seed of tobacco again.

The next day Uaí Majsé arrived at Diawí. He entered the maloca and asked Yúpuri Baúro: "What is new, Yúpuri Baúro?" Then Yúpuri Baúro answered him: "Hello." Yúpuri Baúro offered his hand to greet Uaí Majsé and offered him a seat so that he could sit in front of him. Then Uaí Majsé said: "Yesterday I sent you coca and tobacco." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "Yes, I received them." Then Uaí Majsé said: "Pareroangó stole the coca seed from me." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "I did not accept that stolen coca seed. That seed will be for her." Uaí Majsé disappeared as soon as he heard this. That is why the Yepá Bajuári Majsá remained without the coca seed. But Pareroangó gave the coca seed to her brother, and that is why all of the other Yepá Majsá, except Yepá Bajuári Majsá, have eaten coca since then.

Then Yepá Huáke gave Yúpuri Baúri two gourds, one was full of manioc starch and the other was full of corn starch. And from then on the Yepá Bajuári Majsá did not eat coca, but instead ate the starch of manioc and corn. But /373/ when the Yepá Bajuári Majsá invited the rest of the Yepá Majsá, then the other Yepá Majsá were not accustomed to eating manioc starch and corn starch. Then a Bará chief once gave coca seed to Yepára Oakajpeá so that it might be planted. Yepára Oakajpeá planted that coca, but no Yepá Bajuári Majsá would eat that coca. That coca was eaten only by the other Yepá Majsá when they came to the fiestas of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá. And it is only a short time ago that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá really began [276] to eat coca. And before only the wise old people could really eat coca, but now any fool eats coca.

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/For the text of various Tucano myths and folk-tales, see category 116, pp. 1-41./

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/Information on supernatural beings, spirits and gods appearing in Tucano tales will be found in category 539. See Category 116, pp. 1-41./

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/For information on the mythological origins of manioc, tobacco and coca as related in Tucano folk-tales, see category 539 or category 116, pp. 34-41./